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A Year of Revolutionary Ferment

Index for 1970

A Year of Revolutionary Ferment

By Les Evans

The seventies opened on a note of repression. In Mexico City on New Year's Day, Lecumberri prison guards terrorized visiting relatives of political prisoners with gunfire while regular convicts, armed and incited by the authorities, assaulted the politicals. In Peru, on the same day, the supposedly progressive military government jailed student hunger strikers.

In Prague, a week later, the Husak regime rounded up more than 1,700 persons in a crackdown on what it called a "Trotskyite plot." The victims of the Stalinist repression were fighters for socialist democracy who refused to accept the Kremlin's "normalization" after the 1968 invasion by Soviet troops.

Other events, less easily interpreted, were unfolding as well. On January 8, Peking agreed to resume meetings with the American ambassador in Warsaw which were broken off during the cultural revolution. This expansion of diplomatic contacts would be followed later in the year by a spectacular Chinese diplomatic offensive that would culminate in winning a majority in the United Nations November 20 for the seating of Mao's China and the expulsion of Taiwan.

What remains to be seen is the extent to which the White House was a sympathetic if silent partner in Mao's successes, hoping thereby to establish the same kind of peaceful coexistence with Peking that Washington now enjoys with Moscow.

On January 12 the Nigerian civil war ended after thirty months, when secessionist Biafra was finally overwhelmed by federal troops. The arms peddlers added some two million corpses to their score before moving on to find other customers while the oil magnates settled down to rake in the profits.

There were struggles brewing as well. In Okinawa some 30,000 workers struck January 8-9 to protest the firing of thousands of Okinawan personnel from U.S. military bases. In Belgium the coal miners of Limbourg province were on a wildcat strike that would last until the end of February and involve nearly 40,000 mine and automobile workers before it was over.

The most universal phenomenon of the year was the student radicalization which erupted on all continents and under every social system. It is clear that the youth radicalization of recent years has continued to deepen. In addition to the students' own growing social weight, they were able in a number of cases to unite with other social forces.

Some twenty-seven students were killed by government troops in Ethiopia in January during protests following the assassination of a student leader.

In the Philippines the Marcos government was in turmoil throughout January and February as tens of thousands of students took to the streets to demand that the scheduled constitutional convention be free of vote-buying and other corrupt practices that have marked Philippine elections.

Throughout the year the testing of forces and confrontations ranged from Indonesia to Israel to Pakistan, France, Britain, South Africa, Denmark, Finland, Bolivia, and Yugoslavia.

In Trinidad the students were able to trigger a Black nationalist revolt in April that was put down only by declaring a state of emergency April 21 and calling out government troops.

Even as geographically remote a country as Iceland was not immune. On April 24 a group of socialist stu-

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Next Issue

This is the final issue for the year, since we do not publish during the last week in December or the first week in January. Our next issue will be dated January 11, 1971.

We hope you have enjoyed the 1,120 pages of news, eyewitness reports, and commentary published by Intercontinental Press in 1970. Stay with us in 1971 for the stories behind the headlines on world events.

dents occupied the Icelandic Ministry of Education building in Reykjavik and flew the red flag from one of its windows. The demonstrators were protesting the lack of funds for higher education and Iceland's membership in NATO.

Certain trends that appeared in previous years among the radical youth became more sharply defined in 1970. The bureaucratized, reformist Social Democratic and Stalinist parties remained incapable in most cases of winning any widespread support among the students.

There was a decline as well in certain ultraleft tendencies that had made significant gains in the early stages of the radicalization. These included the French spontanéists and Maospontanéists and the remnants of the American Students for a Democratic Society and the German SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Student Federation].

In contrast to the fortunes of these opportunist or sectarian currents, the world Trotskyist movement was able to deepen its roots among the radical youth in 1970. Of particular note in this regard has been the growth of the Trotskyist movement in France and in the United States.

The role of the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyist youth organization, in the massive student strike following the invasion of Cambodia in May led FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] director J. Edgar Hoover to describe the YSA's fifty campus chapters as "orthodox Communism's most extensive current beachhead in higher education." [September 1970 *Veterans of Foreign Wars Magazine.*]

An indication of the new stage in the development of European Trotskyism was the November 21-22 Congress for a Red Europe held in Brussels. Under the sponsorship of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, and the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes of Belgium, some 3,500 young revolutionists from every country of Europe assembled to discuss the construction of Leninist parties and the revolutionary international.

The Invasion of Cambodia and the American May Events

By far the largest student mobilization—in history—was the campus explosion in the United States following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the killings at Kent State University and Jackson State College. As a challenge to the system, the American "May" was surpassed by the French general strike two years earlier, but even in France the scope of student and youth involvement in the actions was not as great.

The forces building for the explosion were visible in scattered encounters from midwinter on.

Nixon had weathered the massive demonstrations of October and November 1969, but only at great cost in his ability to govern. He had mounted a propaganda campaign to convince the American people that he really intended to end the war in Vietnam, but as he entered his second year in office his grace period was running out.

On February 14-15 in Cleveland, Ohio, some 4,000 persons took part in the largest antiwar conference ever held. The gathering, sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, called mass actions for April 15. Despite differences in the antiwar movement that prevented a national coalition from organizing the demonstrations, hundreds of thousands of persons took part in marches and rallies on April 15 in cities throughout the country.

In Chicago on February 20, Judge Julius J. Hoffman sentenced five antiwar and radical defendants to five years in prison and heavy fines for allegedly inciting to riot during the 1968 Democratic party convention. Spontaneous demonstrations were held in many cities in response to the flagrantly political verdict and the savage sentences. The relatively small size of the demonstrations was deceptive. The courtroom theatrics of several of the defendants cut them off from many potential supporters, but the image of Black Panther leader Bobby Seale, chained and gagged in Hoffman's courtroom, would not soon be forgotten.

The tone for the spring was set when 200,000 postal workers defied federal injunctions and walked off the job March 18 in the first strike in the 195-year history of the Post Office Department. Even using troops, Nixon could not get the postmen back to work without promising major concessions. Now there was struggle in the air.

Nixon himself provided the spark for the tinder by his April 30 announcement of the invasion of Cambodia by American ground troops. On May 4 national guardsmen shot and killed four students at Kent State University and the country was plunged into the deepest crisis of this century.

The gigantic spontaneous mobilization that swept American campuses was unlike any previous protest. Former University of California President Clark Kerr was to say afterward: "No episode or series of episodes had a higher impact in all of our history than the events of last April and May."

There were demonstrations at 89 percent of all independent universities and 76 percent of all public ones. A conservative estimate would put the student strikers at more than 5,000,000.

But the sheer breadth of the strike was only one feature of the May events. On many campuses, strike committees were formed. These were mass democratic bodies that ran the universities as centers of antiwar activity. In the most advanced situations, such as Chicago, these councils affiliated on a city-wide basis to form regional strike committees that wielded substantial power.

Without national organization and coordination, the strike could not last indefinitely, but the students learned a profound lesson in the power of mass action and set processes in motion in the rest of society whose impact has yet to be fully felt.

Unlike France, in the American May the working class was not moved into action by the example of the students. Nevertheless, the student antiwar movement was able, through the strike, to forge its first significant links with the labor movement. In the next explosion there is every reason to believe that the campuses will not stand alone.

Nixon has certainly piled up plenty of fuel for further confrontations with the antiwar movement by his continued aggression in Southeast Asia. The White House has never abandoned its hope for a military victory over the insurgent Vietnamese people.

Despite the statistical decline in the number of American troops in Vietnam, every new turn in the war takes the form of an American escalation, from the invasion of Cambodia in April to Nixon's raid on a North

Vietnamese "prison camp" in November and his most recent threats to resume regular bombing of North Vietnam.

But bombs, napalm, and bullets have been unable to deter the fighting Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian peoples. As the year closes, Nixon's puppet regime in Pnompenh is no more secure than before the American invasion. The latest revelations of the president's favorite expert on guerrilla warfare, Sir Robert Thompson, on the continued strength of the National Liberation Front infrastructure in South Vietnam — confirmed by the White House December 3 — suggests that Thieu and Ky's situation has not improved either.

Civil War in Jordan

The August 7 cease-fire in the Middle East, negotiated by the United States with the backing of Israel, the Soviet Union, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, the Sudan, and Lebanon, was the preliminary step in a plan to liquidate the Palestinian resistance organizations. The so-called Rogers plan, on which the cease-fire was based, proposed to restore peace between the Zionist regime in Israel and the Arab states on the basis of the November 22, 1967, United Nations Security Council resolution on the Middle East.

Such a solution would secure the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territory occupied in the June 1967 war but would not recognize a Palestinian national entity. To be enforced, such a "peace" would require the silencing of the Palestinian political organizations and the crushing of their military sections.

The hijacking of four commercial airliners by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine the first week in September sharply reminded the world of the existence of the two million Palestinian refugees.

The Hashemite regime in Jordan, seeing that it could not settle accounts with these troublesome Palestinians short of dealing them a mortal blow, conspired to launch an armed assault on the headquarters of the resistance organizations and on the mass of the Palestinian population crowded into refugee camps on the outskirts of Amman and other major cities.

The toll of the slaughter that followed Hussein's September 16 proclamation of martial law is still not known. Most estimates range between 5,000 and 10,000 casualties, mainly civilians in the camps.

As the year ends, the precarious balance in Jordan has yet to be resolved in favor of one side or the other. The Palestinians comprise a majority of the total population, including a heavy contingent inside Hussein's army. (The king relied primarily on tank detachments in the September civil war, as he evidently considered the reliability of the infantry open to question.)

The resistance organizations unquestionably received a severe setback in September. They proved unable to overthrow the monarchy or to protect effectively the refugee population from the murderous shelling of Hussein's guns. Nevertheless, Hussein did not succeed in crushing the fedayeen.

The Cairo agreement concluded on the eve of Nasser's death favored the monarchy but did not call for the disarming of the Palestinian militia or for abandoning the military camps of the guerrilla organizations.

The commandos have largely abandoned their strongholds in the cities of Northern Jordan, such as Irbid where the committees of popular defense set up as the civil war began earned the town the sobriquet of the "First Arab Soviet."

The key to the struggle ahead lies in the political mobilization of the Palestinian masses. The outcome is far from decided, although a dangerous weakness of the commando leadership in the past has been to avoid dealing with the question of who should rule in Jordan, limiting their professed aims to the struggle against Zionist colonialism. Hussein has the advantage here because he is quite clear in his aim of destroying the Palestinian movement — with Israeli military assistance, if necessary.

The New Rise of Revolutionary Nationalism

Marxists have long understood the revolutionary potential of struggles for national independence as an important element in the world socialist revolution. This concept is at the heart of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, first enunciated in 1905.

The dramatic rise of the Palestinian movement is the most outstanding example of such a phenomenon today, but it is far from the only one. If we were to single out any one development in 1970 as the most significant, it would be the rise of revolutionary nationalism.

The April explosion in Trinidad in which students linked their struggle with a Black nationalist revolt was a good example of the potential of such movements. The deepening Black nationalist sentiment in the ghettos of the United States promises similar explosions, but on a vastly expanded scale.

In the last months of 1970, states of emergency were proclaimed in Canada, Spain, and Ireland. In all three cases, the governments were attempting to dampen the struggles of oppressed national minorities that had reached the flash point.

The nationalist movements involved — Quebec and Basque separatists and Irish republicans — have all existed for many years. What is new is the shift to the left of the nationalist leadership and the consequent intensification of the fight for national demands. This shift marks the emergence of these movements as powerful contingents in the overall class struggle.

The political development of the leadership of the Irish republican movement in this regard toward consciously socialist positions has been particularly noteworthy. This has reflected growing mass discontent with the conservative Dublin regime as well as with the archaic, caste-dominated Stormont government in the North.

The Fianna Fáil machine in the South has done its best to divert deepening anti-imperialist sentiment with perfunctory denunciations of the Six-County British enclave, but as the Northern civil-rights movement has radicalized and drawn wider and wider layers into action, the implications of the struggle have tended to spill over the border. The real worth of Lynch's nationalist pretenses was shown by his December 4 threat to invoke the Offenses Against the State Act and intern revolutionary nationalists without charge or trial. Although his threat was supposedly directed at one small ultraleft group, it was clear from the outset that the ultimate victim he had in mind was the main body of the republican leadership, particularly of the Irish Republican Army.

The parallels between events in Ireland and those in Canada and Spain are so striking that they hardly need elaboration. The Trudeau government in Ottawa, of course, professes to be

the most democratic of the three, but this did not prevent the Liberal prime minister from throwing hundreds of persons into jail after the October 5 kidnapping of British trade commissioner James Cross, even though the great majority of detainees admittedly had no connection with the organization responsible for the kidnapping. Trudeau's real fear was that any spark could set off a mass revolutionary mobilization of the Québécois population, hence the government's talk about an "apprehended insurrection" for which it could produce no evidence. The very conditions of life of the oppressed French-speaking majority in Montréal and other centers of eastern Canada provide the basis for an explosion of which the government is only too well aware. But contrary to Trudeau's expectations, the introduction of the War Measures Act only solidified the Québécois opposition.

Franco's December 4 decree imposing a three-month state of emergency in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa, following the abduction of a West German consul, was patterned after Trudeau's model.

Pakistan was another arena where the potency of national oppression as a goad to struggle saw a demonstration in life in 1970. The utter failure of the Punjab-controlled military regime of General Yahya Khan to organize aid for the one-and-a-half-million persons left destitute after the hurricane in East Pakistan in November reaped a harvest of outrage in the December 7 legislative elections. The heavy defeat of progovernment and West Pakistani parties in general showed a sharp rise in separatist consciousness among the deprived Bengalis of East Pakistan.

Women's Liberation

Closely related to the rise in consciousness of oppressed national minorities has been the burgeoning revolt against the degrading sex roles forced on women. Not since the early years of this century has such a widespread struggle for the rights of women been waged, and in many ways the current women's liberation movement far outpaces that of the suffragettes.

In the United States especially, the women's movement took great strides forward in 1970. A year ago, Canada, Great Britain and perhaps the Netherlands could claim the distinction of having the most active and socially conscious liberation groups. The American movement was well under way, but was still limited essentially to vanguard organizations.

The biggest breakthrough in the United States came in the August 26 Strike for Women's Equality. Tens of thousands of women marched in dozens of cities. The largest demonstration, in New York City, drew from 35,000 to 40,000 participants from every social class and sector of society. This mass response showed that the demands of the movement had touched a responsive chord that virtually overnight established the women's liberation organizations as a major political force in the country. The strike demands—free twenty-four-hour child-care centers under community control; free abortion on demand; and equal job and educational opportunities—went beyond relations with individual employers or even with the government, and challenged one of the central institutions of class society, the family.

Spread of Soviet Dissent

Despite increasingly severe repression, the volume of *samizdat* material that circulates in the Soviet Union and the number of semilegal organizations of political opposition continued to increase in 1970. The widely read underground *Chronicle of Current Events*, which began publication early in 1968, came out regularly every two months throughout the year.

On September 12 Yuli Daniel emerged from a Stalinist prison camp after five years. It was his case and that of his codefendant Andrei Sinyavsky that touched off the current wave of opposition, and many of the inmates of Soviet jails and insane asylums today earned their sentences in defending the two condemned writers.

During Daniel's incarceration, the opposition movement grew despite persecution. Although many of its well-known leaders have fallen victim to the secret police, such as former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, new spokesmen have arisen to take their places.

The most notable victory of the dissidents came this June in forcing the government to release the geneticist Jaurès Medvedev from an asylum where he had been forcibly taken by the KGB [Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti—the secret police] for a "psychiatric examination."

The greater involvement of Soviet scientists in the defense of civil liberties and the fight for socialist democracy was an important advance in 1970. The most striking example was the November 15 announcement by nuclear physicists Andrei D. Sakharov, Andrei N. Tverdokhlebov, and Valery N. Chalidze of the formation of a Committee for Human Rights to seek to protect personal freedoms in the Soviet Union.

Even more important was the report in the February issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events* that opposition youth organizations considering themselves Marxist had been formed in Saratov, Ryazan, and Gorky. This indicated both that the worldwide youth radicalization had reached the Soviet Union and that the opposition movement, at least in these cases, was coalescing around a more defined organizational structure and a revolutionary program.

The other workers states of Eastern Europe have been even less immune to such revolutionary impulses than the Soviet heartland. Yugoslavia in particular saw a renewal of the campus agitation that shook the country in June of 1968. Some 5,000 Belgrade University students staged a ten-day strike in mid-October to protest the jailing of their leader Vladimir Mijanovic. The students have promised further actions if the government does not release the youthful political prisoners it is holding.

Left Shift in Latin America

A year ago the bourgeois press was painting the future of Latin America as an inevitable drift toward military dictatorship. Argentina and Brazil were firmly in the grip of rightist generals as were traditional dictatorships such as Paraguay. In Bolivia and Peru, it was true, the generals spoke a more radical language but the centers of world capitalism were prepared to live with whatever inconveniences that might bring.

But neither right-wing dictatorship nor "military reformism" have been able to provide stability in the crisis-ridden Latin-American states.

The Garrastazu Medici regime in Brazil has been able to maintain itself only through the most brutal repression, winning condemnation even from

its own bourgeois opposition. The October 24-25 roundup of some 5,000 "leftists" on the eve of national legislative "elections" showed the edginess of the government. Despite this attempt at intimidation in which many bourgeois candidates were harassed, the electorate cast an extraordinary number of blank ballots as a protest against the rigged voting.

In Argentina, General Juan Carlos Onganía was dumped by his military confreres June 8 after he proved incapable of putting down growing labor unrest. His successor, Roberto Marcelo Levingston, has fared no better. He has begun making noises that sound remarkably like the reformist notes being played in Lima and La Paz.

The latest experiment with military reformism has also been less than a triumph for the generals. Alfredo Ovando Candia, who seized power from the civilian Siles government in Bolivia in September, 1969, staked his future on an imitation of the Peruvian "leftists." Ovando barely celebrated his first anniversary in office before he was toppled in the most significant mass mobilization in Latin America since the Mexican student strike of 1968.

For the generals' notebooks: it was a right-wing coup against Ovando that triggered the mass student and worker mobilization. Bolivia is now going through a revival of popular agitation in which armed workers and student organizations exist side by side with the legal government structure headed by "leftist" General Juan José Torres. One or the other side will shatter the equilibrium in the not too distant future.

Chile has also become a powder keg that has cost the Pentagon more than one sleepless night. The September 4 election of popular front candidate Salvador Allende has loosed a flood of mass expectations that his government will have difficulty stemming. The rigidly pro-Moscow Chilean Communist party and its Socialist and Radical party allies have no intention of abolishing capitalism. But their election propaganda has been taken seriously by thousands of workers, students, and peasants, as the current wave of spontaneous land and home seizures testifies.

An ominous sign was the December 3 killing by a CP thug of a student activist of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. According to press reports, a group of MIR youth surprised several of the Stalinists while the latter were tearing down MIR student election posters. In the altercation that followed, one of the CP members pulled a gun and shot his opponent dead.

Despite this threat of government-tolerated counterrevolutionary terrorism, the potential for mass struggle in Chile in the months ahead remains enormous.

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